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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Desiring machines and nomad spaces: Neoliberalism, performativity and becoming in senior secondary drama classrooms.

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Abstract:

This paper explores Deleuze and Guattari's schizoanalysis in relation to student and teacher becomings and the way these are actualised within the neoliberal and heterosexually-striated spaces of the secondary school assemblage. Deleuze and Guattari considered a narrow approach to education problematic and called for creativity as a site of "resistance". Drama is one subject rich with potentiality for students to strengthen their creativity and "speak back" against the neoliberal project. What our research revealed is how the drama classroom is an open, dynamic space where students can embody different identities at a critical time in their adolescent development. What is delimiting about this potentiality is the proclivity of teachers and students, as desiring machines, to conform to the dominant neoliberal culture of competitive performativity. The paper proposes that schizoanalysis offers new insights for mapping complex desire-flows and embodied identities through and against the dominant performative and heterosexist culture.

Keywords:

Deleuze; Guattari; becoming; drama; performativity; neoliberal; education

Prelude

Green grass (real grass), limestone blocks and busy students neatly dressed in navy blazers, white shirts and navy skirts or trousers. An artistic bronze sign announcing "Oceanside College" rose up out of the manicured garden, and a welcoming arrow guided me to the Administration block.

"The principal will be with you in a minute, ma'am. He's just on his mobile phone. Would you like a tea or coffee?"

I sit and wait in the reception. High ceilings, tall glass windows, comfortable chairs. I'm surrounded by trophies and photographs of students: in brass bands, winning awards, shaking hands with people in suits. The principal talks on his mobile for another 20 minutes so I read the glossy folder on the table. A newspaper cutting of the school's impressive NAPLANⁱ results – first place; then their ranking as one of the top schools in Western Australia's year 12 results. Students' names are highlighted in the subject awards. Page after page follows with exhibitions, successful competition entries and beautiful people smiling receiving plaques from politicians, university deans and the principal. Impressive. Finally, I get to an article from a local newspaper relating to drama: the school production of a Shakespearean classic. Students dressed in Elizabethan garb smile standing in stylised poses in an outdoor amphitheatre. Given that this play has only one female character, I wonder what all of the girls in hooped velvet dresses actually did? The article states that the production was a great success. I look up from my reverie. A man in a suit is smiling at me. The Principal.

Introduction

Our qualitative ethnographic research project mapping the effects of neoliberalism on drama education is based on semi-structured interviews with 15 drama teachers and 13 of their ex-students in Western Australia across government, Catholic and independent school systems. Utilising a post-humanist paradigm, we drew upon Deleuze and Guattari's "schizoanalysis" as a lens to interpret the data, because it foregrounds complexity. As Guattari explains, "rather than moving in the direction of reductionist modifications which simplify the complex," schizoanalysis "will work towards its complexification ... in short towards its ontological heterogeneity" (Guattari, 1995 [2006], p. 61). For Deleuze and Guattari "everything is a machine" (1972, p. 2): both the great capitalist machine and the teachers and students who are plugged into it — all are, and are made up of "producing-machines, desiring-machines" (p. 2). They note:

There are no desiring-machines that exist outside the social machines that they form on a large scale; and no social machines without the desiring machines that inhabit them on a small scale. (Deleuze & Guattari, 1972 [2009], p. 2)

Deleuze and Guattari's schizoanalysis can be helpful when examining the intersection between capitalist neoliberalism and drama teachers and students — the vast social machine and the desiring machines. Schizoanalysis offers conceptual tools to explore embodied student-becomings and teacher-becomings in the drama classroom, and the way these are actualised or not within the neoliberal and heterosexually striated spaces of the secondary school assemblage. It is particularly useful for examining the embodied, relational, spatial and affective *energies* that inhabit the drama classroom because it moves beyond analysing discourse. Rather than viewing teachers and students as Kantian unified individualised "subjects" (Kant, 1998, p. 142)— Deleuze and Guattari (1972) speak of "desiring machines" that do not "exist outside the social machines they form on a large scale" (p. 2), indicating a symbiotic relationship between the desiring machines inhabiting teachers, students and neoliberal assemblages.

We also draw on a series of other key Deleuzian concepts including notions of *becoming*, *territorialisation* and *lines of flight*. Each of these further allows us to look in richer ways at the data. Other contemporary researchers have also found these concepts useful. For example, Recent studies including those by Renold and Ringrose (2008) and Ringrose (2011) have also used Deleuze and Guattari's concepts such as "becoming", "territorialisation" and "lines of flight" to analyse qualitative research because they offer strategies for mapping resistance and acquiescence to hegemonic constructions of femininity and masculinity; questions that are key to this paper.

The first section of this paper focuses on neoliberalism, education and its intersection with Deleuze and Guattari's thought. Specifically, we examine the effect neoliberalism is having on drama education in Western Australia. The second section considers space and becoming in the context of the drama classroom itself, and how these are moderated through the dominant neoliberal performative culture.

Neoliberalism, performativity, education and Deleuze and Guattari

According to Down (2009), "Neoliberalism is committed to the idea that the market should be the central organising principle for all political, social and economic decisions" (p. 51). Moreover, "like the rest of the Western world, Australian schools are being restructured and re-cultured around the values of neo-liberalism" (p. 51). Many critics have discussed the marketization or "commodification" of education where schools, universities and education itself become "products" on the global market (Apple, 1989; Beder et al., 2009; Boxley, 2003; Connell, 2013b; Giroux, 2003; James et al., 2010; McLaren, 1989). Schools like Oceanside College¹ compete for students in a market where they are judged by published external test scores (Ball, 2003, 2012; Beder et al., 2009; Connell, 2013b; Fitzgerald & Rainnie, 2011; Keddie et al., 2011; Thompson & Cook, 2012a, 2012b, 2014; Webb, 2011, 2014). Dey and Steyaert (2007, p. 439) have labelled this the "McDonaldization" of education which results in "fast-food knowledge" and reflects that "spectre of the performativity principle." As McKenzie (2001) asserts:

Performance will be to the twentieth and 21st centuries what discipline was to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, namely, an onto-historical formation of power and knowledge...but let me just stress that performative power/knowledge is really just coming over the horizon; discipline wasn't built in a day, nor has the performance stratum fully installed itself. (pp. 5-6)

The term "performativity" is used in a number of different contexts with many meanings (Austin, 2004 [1962]; Ball, 2003; Butler, 1990; Derrida, 1971 [1988]). Ball (2003), for example, uses the term to describe the worth, quality or value of an individual or organisation within a field of judgement, and in this interpretation performativity is:

A technology, a culture and a mode of regulation that employs judgments, comparisons and displays as means of incentive, control, attrition and change — based on rewards and sanctions (both material and symbolic). The performances (of individual subjects or organizations) serve as measures of productivity or output, or

¹ All of the names of schools, teachers and students in this paper are pseudonyms.

displays of “quality”, or “moments” of promotion or inspection. As such they stand for, encapsulate or represent the worth, quality or value of an individual or organization within a field of judgment. The issue of who controls the field of judgment is crucial (p. 216)

This performative “display of quality” can be seen in Oceanside College’s positioning of their NAPLAN results and other statistics on the first pages of their glossy promotional folder. All of the schools in this study, government, Catholic and independent, had their NAPLAN or test results displayed on their web-pages, promotional materials or newsletters. In our research the Western Australian schools’ adoption of corporate performative discourses featured prominently, even in the most unlikely contexts. For example, in Catholic schools, whose promotional materials focus on “collaboration, love and service,” teachers reported being “hauled over the coals” if their statistics didn’t match up to expectations (Claireⁱⁱ). Another teacher from an elite private school received a text message when he was on holiday saying that he had 62 hours to explain why his test results weren’t as good as last year (Jason, independent school teacher).

In Australia, performative compulsory standardised testing in literacy and numeracy is often driven by an economic agenda (Connell, 2013b; Haynes, 2006; Keddie et al., 2011). Giroux (2008) notes that similar educational reforms in the United States serve the needs of big business, not only through the privatisation of schools but also through the writing, and administering of standardised tests and testing materials. For example, according to Beder *et al.* (2009), it costs a state in the US around \$10 million to have a school performance evaluated, mainly on the basis of standardised tests (p. 107). The market for school assessment, tutoring, test-preparation services and materials is worth US\$25 billion. McGraw-Hill’s contract to supply tests to Kentucky alone in 2002 was worth US\$30 million. In Australia, NAPLAN test booklets have filled supermarket shelves. In May 2013 Hinkler Books’ *School Zone NAPLAN-Style Workbook: Year 3 Numeracy* featured in the top ten bestseller list at book retailer Dymocks, alongside books by Jamie Oliver and Jodi Picoult (Morris, 2013).

Researchers cite many deleterious effects of the performative commodification of education on schools in Western Australia (Adoniou, 2012; Thompson, 2010b; Thompson & Harbaugh, 2013). They point to growing inequality, surveillance of teachers, loss of professionalism and increased stress for students and teachers with no statistical improvement in numeracy and literacy overall (Thompson & Harbaugh, 2013). Moreover, NAPLAN has led to a narrowing of the curriculum focus, a “teach to the test mentality” and a return to teacher-centered pedagogies that lower student engagement with learning. Teachers reported that test preparation and increased emphasis on competition meant that it was harder to cater for students with the greatest need. Reich stresses, “The danger with high-stakes testing, of course, is that schools become test-taking factories in which the only thing taught or learned is how to take high-stakes tests” (Reich, 2003, p. 1; Thompson & Harbaugh, 2013)

“Choice”, “accountability”, “standards”, “competition” and “reform” are the performative buzzwords of the neoliberal discourse in education. Neoliberal assemblages value narrow measurable outcomes as a means of control. As Deleuze (1992) states, “For the school system: continuous forms of control ... the introduction of the “corporation” at all levels of schooling” (Deleuze, p. 7). This neoliberal view of education is evidenced in the current Australian Federal Education Minister,

Christopher Pyne's comments, insinuating that Australia does not have an equity problem but rather a problem with poor teaching:

We have an obsession with school funding in Australia when we should have an obsession with standards. The issue in education is not a lack of money, the issue in education is a lack of a fighting spirit about a rigorous curriculum, engaging parents in their children's education. The argument around teaching shouldn't be about industrial relations, it should be around, 'Are our teachers as high a standard as they possibly could be, and if they aren't, how do we get them to that point?' (Pyne, cited in Grattan, 2013, p. 7)

However, Riddle (2013) claims that ideas like these oversimplify the problem. He notes the 2013 OECD global student rankings highlighted that a "slide in the performance of Australian students in reading, science and math, hides the real state of inequality in Australia's education system" (Riddle, 2013).

An unequal playing field: Drama education in Western Australian secondary schools

Oceanside College is a government school in the leafy green "western suburbs" of Perth, Western Australia. According to Beder *et al.* (2009), there are currently three tiers of education in Australia. First, private schools that "cater to the elites who want to give their children social and educational advantages"; secondly, "other private and selective public schools that are adequately funded and able to control their enrolments", such as Oceanside College; and lastly, "inadequately funded public schools whose doors are open to any child, whatever their socio-economic background, religion, or ability" (p.187). They argue that these levels are a result of a neoliberal, market-driven, corporate approach to education.

With regard to drama, elite schools often have state of the art theatres that are "better than the WA State Theatre Centre" (Ella, independent school teacher). They hire professional actors/directors/lighting and set designers to work alongside students to do massive productions that advertise the school. Kate, a teacher at an elite school noted:

They had paid actors in leading roles, paid lighting and sound. They were just using the school's money and stage, and it involved a couple of students but the community saw them as a St Albert's Catholic School production.

In the second tier, selective private and government schools cater for the middle class, are well funded and have the ability to pick and choose students. As one teacher from a selective government school said:

It's a very, very good school ... a lot of people move into the Green View area to go to Green View. A lot of people come from overseas. It's a sought after government school, an independent government school. We're always in the top 20 schools. (Andre)

Whilst Green View may not have a theatre that rivals the State Theatre Centre, Andre's well-funded school has the financial ability to hire industry professionals to tutor his students.

Compared with well-funded schools which had school production budgets in excess of \$40 000; in the third tier inadequately funded government schools had budgets from \$0-\$2000 for school productions and teachers often used their own money to buy costumes, props and sets. However, these productions were still a source of advertising for schools. Every school in this study utilized images of their drama productions in promotional pamphlets and websites — as we saw in Oceanside College’s glossy folder. Teachers often spent their own money as a commitment to the powerful developmental possibilities of drama that go beyond massaging public perception.

The Australian Federal Government’s 2011 Review of School Funding (the “Gonski Report”) highlighted the disparity between the different education sectors. It noted that in 2010, 85% of all Indigenous students, 78% of students with disabilities, 83% of students in remote or very remote areas, 79% of students in the bottom SEA (Socio Economic Advantage) quartile, and 68% of students for whom English was their second language attended government schools (Gonski, 2008). This revealed that the schools with the least funding were responsible for educating the most disadvantaged students.

Space and becoming in senior secondary drama classrooms

Smooth space and striated space — nomad space and sedentary space — the space in which the war machine develops and the space instituted by the State apparatus — are not of the same nature. (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987 [2012], p. 524)

Drama classrooms are usually large spaces that exist within the larger space of the school. More than their physical dimensions, Deleuze and Guattari develop the concepts of striated and smooth spaces to describe how “space” more broadly is composed of the constrictions and flows of energy in the socio-cultural sphere. Striated spaces conflate with homogeneity and conversely, “the smooth [space] actually seemed to pertain to a fundamental heterogeneity” (p. 536). Thus “striated spaces are hierarchical, rule intensive, strictly bounded and confining, whereas smooth spaces are open, dynamic and allow for transformation to occur” (Tamboukou, 2008, p. 360).

In drama, smooth spaces are those that are “safe” spaces for students to be and become minoritarian. In drama, students engage in becoming through the trying on of a multitude of different identities. When taught well, drama involves a process of creative inquiry and expression (Greene, 1995). According to May (2003), the concept of “becoming” is central to Deleuze’s work (May, 2003, p. 139). Becoming is a process not a goal, and has an affinity with multiplicity and difference. The concept of “becoming” is a useful tool to explore mid to late adolescents’ developing sense of self. The word “identity” has implications of a fixed point or a defined subjectivity (Guattari, 1995 [2006], p. 3). To use the phrase “becoming woman” or “adolescent becomings” incorporates *multiplicity* and describes a *process* that young people are undertaking, rather than a point of arrival. In *Nietzsche and Philosophy* Deleuze states, “There is no being beyond becoming, nothing beyond multiplicity ... multiplicity is the affirmation of unity; becoming is the affirmation of being” (Deleuze, 1983 [2006], p. 23). This commitment to multiplicity was evidenced in the pedagogy

of drama teachers in this research, reflecting a different set of values than those in the neoliberal project.

In our interviews with Western Australian drama teachers and students, every participant agreed that drama was a “safe space” for student becomings. For example, drama teacher Liz described how her drama classroom differed from a math classroom:

It's actually is a lot safer [than a math classroom]. I think it's safer in terms of students expressing themselves; it's much freer. I often have kids coming in and saying...*[whispers]* I've got to be careful what I say, but..."Oh, I just had maths *[sigh]*. At least I can think in this class". Or you know, I feel like there's room to be creative, there's room to breathe; there's room to work in a different way. It's much more open, it's freer, it's collaborative, it's creative. (Liz, drama teacher, independent school)

Similarly, Yana and Di, two drama students from government schools, described how the space in a drama classroom differed from other classrooms:

Yana: Well the obvious thing is the complete difference between walking into a drama classroom and walking into an English room. In a normal classroom you've got the chairs set up, there's that authority already stamped in because everyone's sitting, it's formatted, its structured. Whereas you get into a drama classroom *[laughs]* and it's, "Space!" You know? It's like pure chaos. There's not the formality in a drama classroom. Generally the students who do drama together have a bond that you don't see in a lot of other subjects.... I think that's what it really is in a drama class: a community. You've got your misfits and your attention seekers and it's great because you've got all of these people who wouldn't normally fit together are put into an environment and yeah, it's really special.

Yana: But drama is a safe space... Well it's fascinating. I mean guys always want to dress up in drag. Put a wig and a skirt in front of them and they're like *[clicks fingers]*, "I'm there." Bit of lipstick, heels.

In these extracts Liz (the teacher) and Yana compared the striated and smooth/nomad spaces of the English/math and drama classrooms. They described how “space” was composed of the constrictions (such as desks and normative gender boundaries) and flows of energy in the socio-cultural sphere of the school. The striated spaces of the math and English classrooms could be seen to conflate with homogeneity; whereas the smooth space of the drama classroom appeared to elicit heterogeneity. Moreover, the striated spaces of the English and math classrooms were hierarchical (“authority stamped on it”), rule intensive, and strictly bounded and confining. Conversely, the smooth space of the drama classroom was open, dynamic and allowed for transformation to occur.

Normative gender binaries of femininity and masculinity have been described as: “The dominant culture of femininity (for females) has constituted nurturance, dependence, cooperation, intuition and passivity, while for males, masculinity has embodied aggression, independence, rationality, activity, and competition” (Chepyator-Thomson & Ennis, 1997, p. 90). In addition to being a free, creative space, the idea that the drama classroom is a safe space for heterogeneity (“misfits”) and moments of deterritorialisation from normative gender boundaries was echoed by a number of teachers and students:

I look around drama club and I think oh my God we've got probably 90% of the social outcasts in this group. (Claire, drama teacher, Catholic school)

The gender roles are diminished a lot more in the theatre space. I think a lot of the guys who do drama are still seen as being effeminate and some of them really are, and that's cool. That's fine in the drama class. That's expected and it's acceptable and a guy that dances is an awesome thing in drama but in some of the classes it's not. (Tom, drama teacher, government school)

The first thing I get asked for with the junior boys is, "Miss, do you have a wig?" And they love wearing dresses and wigs... Maybe it's a way for them to explore, you know, being in the shoes of the other, the opposite sex in a safe environment...The drama space is a safe place for them to explore issues that they might not otherwise talk about. Drama attracts the kids who may be questioning their sexuality or are more in touch with their emotions, which as a boy, is not so acceptable in our society unfortunately. But they get an opportunity to play with that here and step into those roles. "Oh I'm role-playing, I'm playing somebody else" so it's safe to try being the person that they feel like they have inside of them. They get to express themselves in a way that they're not comfortable doing out in the playground. (Kate, drama teacher, Catholic boys school)

The interview data shows that the drama classroom can be a smooth space for students who do not fit over-coded, heterosexist gender binaries to take up lines of flight and perform or embody heterogeneity and multiplicity. This was reflected in two of the gay students who were interviewed for the research stating that that they felt comfortable to "come out" in drama. As Zac illustrates, the drama space — a smooth/nomad space — allowed him to express his minoritarian subjectivity:

I'm gay so obviously having to act I always acted differently in drama because I felt like out in the school-yard, I'd get bashed. And it was an actual genuine fear... When I stepped into the theatre, I could finally be who I truly was. That's what I didn't like about St Albans because the moment drama finished, I had to quickly switch on my masculinity again. But in drama I felt like I could be myself and not be judged for it. (Zac, independent school student)

In summary, our research showed that the drama classroom could be a space where difference and multiplicity is accepted. In Deleuzian terms, it could be a smooth space for adolescent desire to momentarily move out of the normative strata. Students demonstrated their deterritorialising from normative heterosexist gender binaries. Boys felt free to put on dresses, wigs, or "the lycra suit" (Ariel, government school teacher), and girls felt free to "be ugly" (Gemma, independent school teacher). Drama was a safe place for "the socially inept", "social outcasts" and the generally "weird" students, who don't fit the "grrr heterosexual guys", "princess girls," or the "academic good student" mould (Claire, Catholic school teacher). As one student explained:

You can get it all wrong in drama and try it all again ... there's this protection, the fact that you're not being yourself. You can let down the barriers. (Miranda)

Nomadic spaces and neoliberal assemblages

While the drama classroom can be an ideal, smooth space for students to explore heterogeneity at a critical time in their adolescent development, Ringrose (2013) argues that school space is also shaped by neoliberal and market ideologies which “striate” it. Tension exists between these two spaces: smooth (heterogeneous/free flowing) and striated (homogenous/rigid). For example, our research revealed low perceptions of the *status* of drama. As one Catholic school drama teacher noted, according to popular opinion, drama students “just run around and pretend to be trees” (Claire). Likewise, students complained that drama was perceived to be: “a throw away subject” (Cassie, Catholic school student); “the [subject] you do because it’s easy, which it’s not, it’s as hard as history” (Miranda, independent school student); “the fun subject” (Di, government school student); and “the subject you do because you’re not smart enough to do physics” (Lorenzo, independent school student).

Drama was generally viewed as “not academic” (Claire). This view reflected the status afforded to those subjects that cannot be quantitatively measured. At one school, for example, the Principal regularly told staff, “Good teachers get good results: measurable data. I’m not interested in fluffy feel-good stuff.” As Deleuze (1992) states, “...the different control mechanisms are inseparable variations, forming a system of variable geometry, the language of which is *numerical*” (p. 4). Of key importance to the neoliberal assemblage is “the development of techniques of auditing, accounting and management that enable a ‘market’ for public services to be established autonomous from central control” (Barry, Osborne, and Rose 1996, p. 14, cited in Webb, 2011, p. 736). Measurable data becomes the sole means of judging teacher success, rather than the “fluffy stuff” such as: creativity, working collaboratively, and kinaesthetic learning. Deleuze states that in control societies, “We no longer find ourselves dealing with the mass/individual pair. Individuals have become “dividuals” and masses, samples, data, markets, or “bands” (Deleuze, 1992, p. 5).

This development has had a marked effect on drama teaching. For example, the youngest teacher interviewed stated that she didn’t want her drama classes to be thought of as “fun”. She wanted them to be taken seriously, so she did a lot more “written work” and dressed “really professionally” (Liz). When interviewed at school, Liz wore stilettos, skirt and suit jacket. This stands in marked contrast to the other 14 drama teachers who wore “comfortable shoes” and “smart-casual” clothing. It is not unusual for drama teachers to sit on the floor or participate in movement activities that require loose-fitting clothing. Liz’s independent Christian school is a conservative lower-middle socio-economic suburban school that appears to have adopted the dominant culture of competitive performativity and the accompanying surveillance of teachers, as is evidenced in her description of her school and curricula:

Liz: This school is definitely a Christian school so all of their policies and everything they do, their value system is all based on Biblical principles first of all. They want to have an achievement culture — specifically academic. They want to create a culture of excelling and excellence. So with our programming it’s very specific and they check all of our programs.

Kirsten: Who’s they?

Liz: Curriculum [*whispers*] officers...so basically we have two people who look after curriculum.

Kirsten: Right, so that culture is that because it's a competitive area around here with all of the different schools?

Liz: Definitely. At the end of each year the curriculum manager will go through and show us how each school performed, where we ranked. Last year we ranked 19th in the state. Then they show us on a scale how all of the different subjects did, in front of everyone. So I guess there is that accountability.

The school's "achievement culture" and its desire to "create a culture of excellence," coupled with the control of teachers' programs and Liz's whispering when talking about the "managers" is illustrative of the dominant neoliberal culture of competitive performativity. It appears Liz has adopted and embodied the school's performative "academic" culture, as can be seen in her comments on the following page:

Kirsten: How would you describe your teaching style?

Liz: I'm much more serious...academic. I try to always break the stereotype of 'drama is fun'. It's been an ongoing thing at our school, like, 'Drama's fun. It's the subject where you don't have to write'. And we're actually changing that culture so we're doing a lot of counselling, where if they're not doing well in English they can't do it. So I've bought in a lot of theory in year nine and ten. There's this push to be professional. I've really tried to change the culture. I would rather fewer students and have the serious tone of "If you want to do this, you've got to be focused and you've got to be good at it."

However, not all teachers in this study adopted the dominant culture of neoliberal performativity.

Becoming minoritarian

Our research revealed that teachers and students moved between deterritorialisation, "freeing ourselves from the restrictions and boundaries of controlled, striated spaces — and reterritorialisation — repositioning ourselves within new regimes of striated spaces". For Deleuze and Guattari, deterritorialisation describes a process whereby the flow of energy escapes or momentarily moves outside the normative strata, and reterritorialisation describes the process of recuperation from those ruptures (Tamboukou, 2008, p. 360). Lines of flight are deterritorialisations that do not stop but branch out and produce rhizomatic connections (multiplicities).

These ruptures can be seen in drama teachers' actions in this study. One teacher, Kate, refused to hire professional actors for the school production because she argued that the event was supposed to be a "school production". Another teacher, Ella, when told to "dress like a lawyer" retorted that she would dress like a lawyer when they paid her like one. Most drama teachers held their more creative productions and arts clubs outside of school hours. Even Liz, the young drama teacher who dressed like a lawyer and adopted a neoliberal approach to teaching in

order to be taken seriously, stated that if she could change anything about teaching drama she wished that other teachers (“like maths teachers”) “could understand that creativity takes time and that you just can’t teach a concept in half an hour”.

Teachers also adopt creative forms of resistance through developing safe spaces that encourage becoming minoritarian in their classes. Drama in this way enables students to move “beyond oppressive self–other relations towards a form of subjectivity that can welcome differences as well as the differentiating force of life itself” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987 [2012], p. 560). In this way teachers created “new weapons” (Deleuze, 1992, p. 4) to speak back to the neoliberal project.

Paradoxically in the contemporary drive for measurement, it is in the arborescent, hierarchical, Revised Bloom’s Taxonomy (Krathwohl, 2002) we find “creating” at the pinnacle of the cognitive pyramid representing the highest form of cognitive thinking. “Creating” includes generating new ideas, designing, constructing, planning, producing, or viewing things in innovative ways. Creating is the bedrock of drama. For Deleuze and Guattari, “to create is to resist: pure becomings” (1991 [1994], p. 110).

Conclusion

Australian teachers operate in a zeitgeist of capitalist neoliberalism, which has had the effect of making education a commodity that can be bought and sold. Our research shows that drama is a subject that celebrates creativity and heterogeneity. Yet it is often reterritorialised by the neoliberal assemblages of the school hierarchy and the need to be taken “seriously” and be identified as a “professional” and not just be a “fun” place where students can be creative. Creative lines of flight are also recaptured by the dominant neoliberal culture of competitive performativity. Nevertheless many teachers persist in rerouting the flow of power toward new and creative constructions.

In *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari (1987 [2012]) state, “We can be thrown into a becoming by anything at all, by the most unexpected, most insignificant of things. You don’t deviate from the majority unless there is a little detail that starts to swell and carries you off” (p. 541). Perhaps drama classrooms can still provide that “little detail” that propels teachers and students into that line of flight which sees them becoming minoritarian.

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